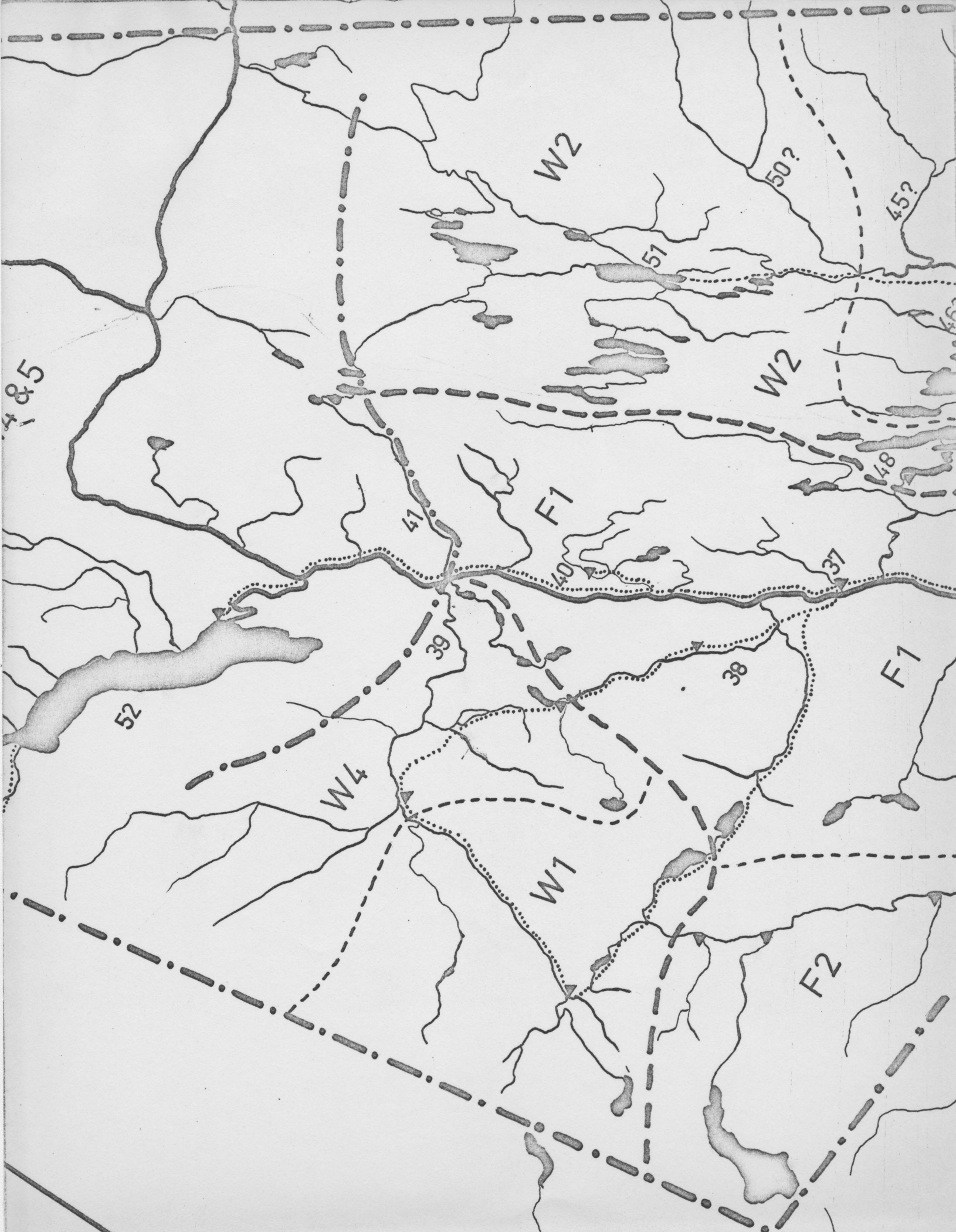


W4 & 5

52



55

W2

50?

45?

51

W2

48

F1

41

40

37

52

39

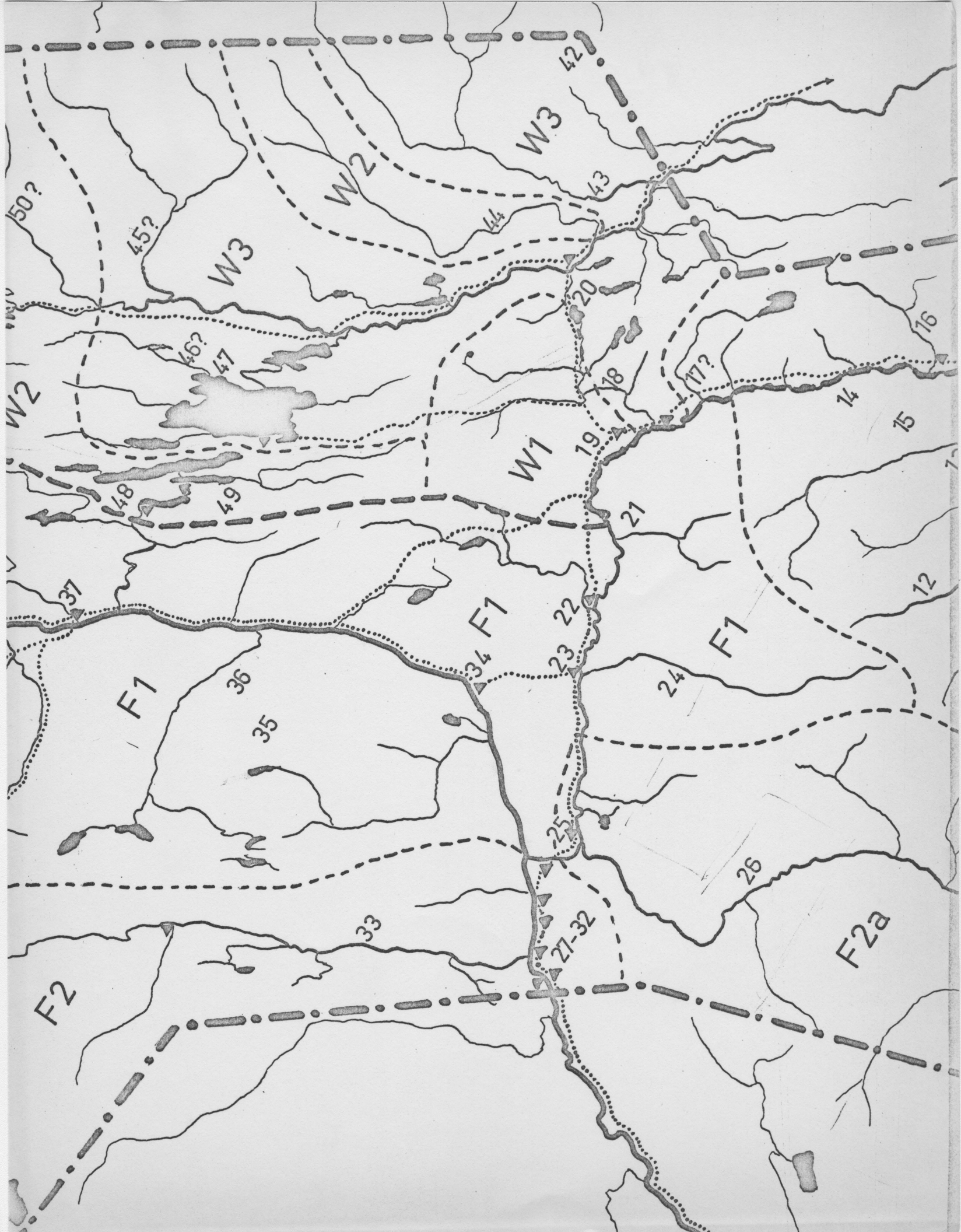
38

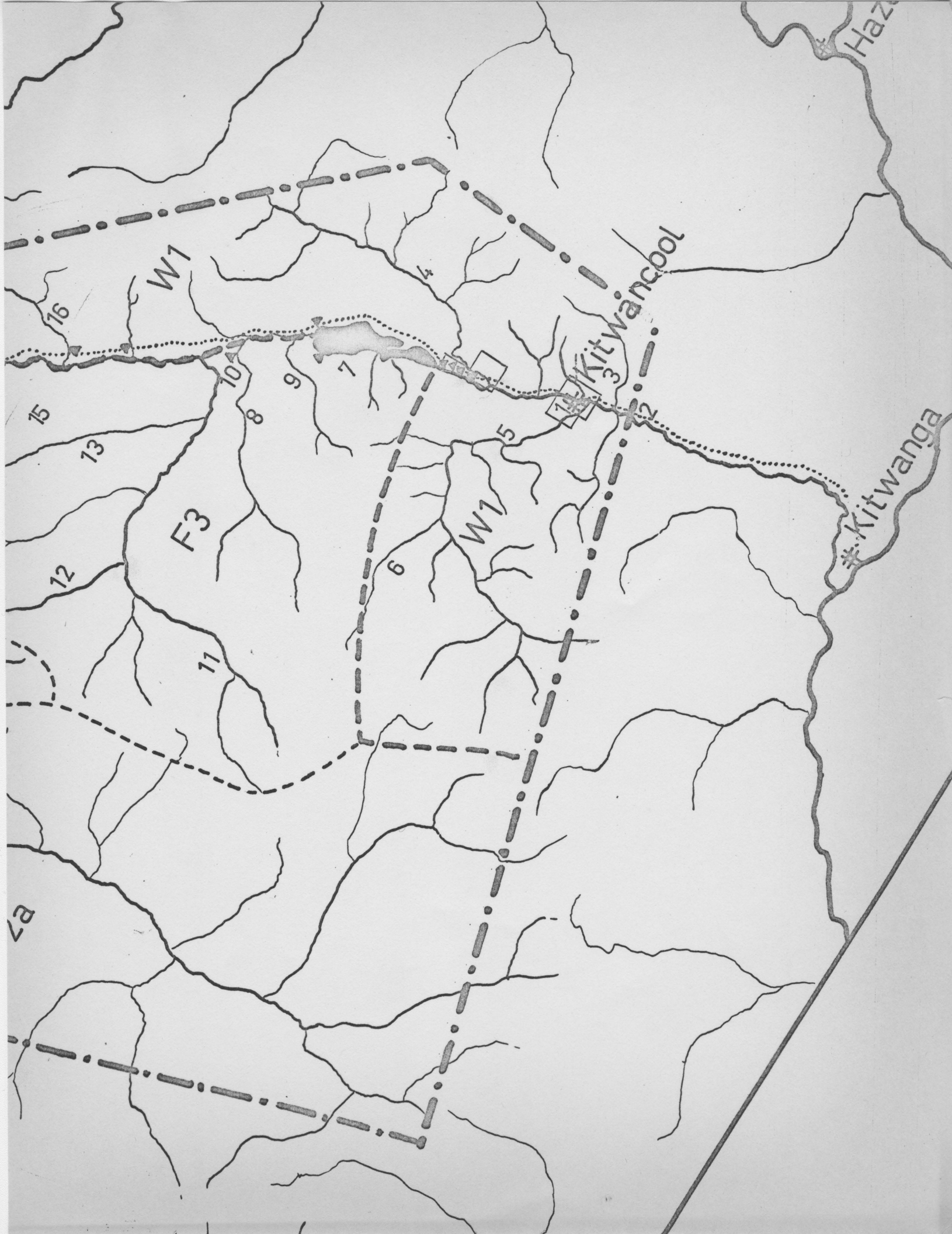
F1

W4

W7

F2





## SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Because the ownership of territories is vested in the social units within the tribe, it is necessary briefly to describe the social structure of the Kitwancool. Like most of the Gitksan tribes, they are divided into three major units known as phratries: Wolf, Frog, and Fireweed (also called Grouse). These are ranked in the order given. The Fireweed group is very small, and owns none of the tribe's territories. The Wolves and Frogs are in about equal numbers. All the members of a phratry are felt to be related, almost as though in the same family. They must not marry within the phratry. Therefore husband and wife are always members of different phratries.

Membership in the phratries descends in the maternal line. This means that a person inherits his right to take important names and use territories from his mother and her brothers, rather from his father. The successor to a chief's name and "seat" (position) may be his younger brother, his sister's son or some other matrilineal descendant, but not his son, since his son is not in his phratry. Traplines and other rights to territories are also passed on in the maternal line, contrary to some provisions of the legislation regarding traplines. In order to do this, the Kitwancool have registered their whole trapping area as a single block rather than by individual traplines.

The phratries are in turn made up of smaller units called "houses", which formerly consisted of the kinship group that owned

a large communal house in the village. The houses are named from their head chiefs; eg. wilbslohon "house of Lohon". Each house owns a number of names for its chiefs, its own territories, and other rights. The houses in a phratry are ranked, and so are the chiefs. In the passage of time some "houses" have split up to occupy two or even more communal dwellings. These offshoots for a time retain the fiction that they still belong to the original "house", but their chiefs also take certain rights with them and in the course of time they become completely separate "houses". In a similar way two or more "houses" may join together to occupy a single dwelling, or families might move in from elsewhere and for a time they retain their separate identities, but may eventually consider themselves as members of the same "house". Thus the social structure changed through time.

The important persons in each house and in the tribe are arranged in order of rank, and this ranking is expressed in the seating arrangement at important gatherings. Thus the rank is known as the "seat". A name and a seat go together as a single unit. The higher positions are much sought after by those who have any hereditary right to them. Usually too there is a chosen successor to the seat, who sits in front of the chief at gatherings and has a special name. For example the bestowal of the name Gamakmalmuk on a young man of the Wolf phratry was tantamount to assuring that

he would succeed to the name and seat of Chief Gwaslam. However this system did not remain rigidly fixed through time. Conflicts over names and seats could cause adjustments in the system.

Present day Kitwancool elders describe the social structure of the village as it was about the turn of the century, when the last generation of old style communal houses was still occupied and the old system of ownership of territories still functioned smoothly. The following description of the phratries, "houses", "seats", and territories dates back to that time.

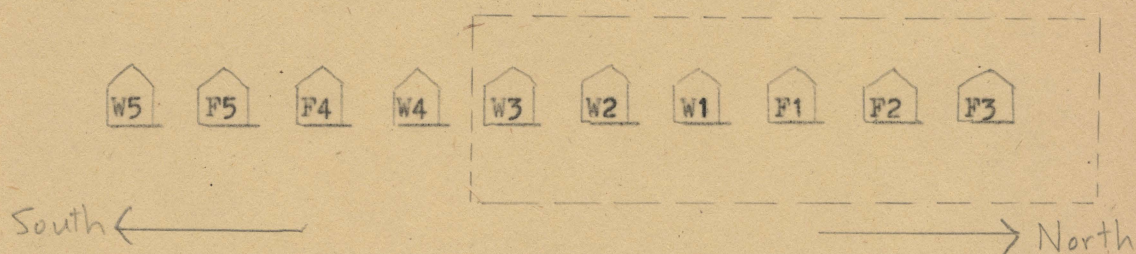
(Houses)

At that time there were 5 Wolf houses and 5 Frog houses in the village. There had also been two Fireweed houses somewhat removed from the others at the south end of the village, but their occupants had moved out to Kitsegukla somewhat earlier. (There is no trace of the houses in photographs taken in 1910 and the last totem pole fell down in 1917). The houses were placed close together in a single line along the edge of a terrace of the river and separated from it by a small flat meadow. In theory the houses were arranged in the same order as the seats, with the topranking Wolf and Frog houses side by side in the centre, the Frog houses in decreasing rank to the north, and the Wolf houses in decreasing rank to the south. Actually however, in the expansion of the village, two Frog houses



had been built at the south end. The houses were placed and ranked as in Figure 1, and the photograph shows the six leading houses as they were in 1910. These are the units which are shown as owning territory on Map 2.

Figure 1



The totem poles and sometimes the grave houses of the chiefs of the house stand in front of each dwelling. Some of the houses in each phratry considered themselves to be more closely related than others: F5 is regarded as an offshoot of F2, W3 and W4 remember that they formerly shared a single large dwelling with W1. In cases where a house is shown as owning no territory on Map 2, it may share the territories owned by such a closely related house. By 1910 the dwellings F4 and W5 had disappeared (although some of their totem poles still stand today).

(Seats)

I did not learn the full details of the seats in the village, but I did learn enough to give the general picture. When the whole tribe met together the idealized seating arrangement was as follows:

		↑						↑						
	5a	4a	3a	2a	1a	1a	2a	3a	4a	5a	6a	7a		
P	5	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	FROGS					WOLVES								

The chiefs are shown seated with their successors in front of them. My information on the Wolf seats was obtained from Walter Douse and is the more complete. There were seven Wolf seats in the village. Three belonged to chiefs in the house W1 (the 1st, 3rd, and 7th), and one each to W2, W3, W4, and W5. The following list gives the names of the chiefs who occupied each seat, the names of the successors, the rank of their seat and their house affiliation.

Wolf Chiefs (by seat and house)

<u>Seat</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>House</u>
1	Gwaslam "lend me your shin bone" or Wiha "great slave"	W1
1a (successor to 1)	Gamakmalmuk	W1
No seat	Weeskimsem	W1
2	Malee "wild person"	W2
2a	Neeslaganos	W2
No seat	Akgwindesqu "keep your hands off me"	W2
3	Andalaksemhloks	W1
3a	Biosku "biggest mosquitoes"	W1
4	Haizimsku	W3
4a	Ligyigyalwill (?)	W3
5	Wileetsku "great blue grouse"	W4
5a	Atsown	W4
No seat	Adaganye	W4
6	Kawoku	W5
6a	?	W5
7	Bioks	W1
7a	Gitneegit	W1

The Frog chiefs, by seat and house, were roughly as follows: -

<u>Seat</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>House</u>
1	Gamlakyeltku "pacing back and forth"	F1
1a	Hlamee	F1
2	Lohon "coming to eat salmon"	F2
2a	Wadahayetsku	F2
3	Guno	F3
3a	?	F3
4	Yukyukw or Dahansku?(?)	F4
4a	?	F4
5	Tseewa (?)	F5
5a	?	F5

It is of interest to note that all or virtually all of these names are still held, although some have passed to persons who live in other villages. The system of seats is still virtually intact, and the persons holding the highest seats are still the real rulers of the village.

### Ownership of Territories

The ownership of territories was vested in the chiefs, or probably more precisely, in the houses. The spokesmen did not seem to distinguish clearly on this point; in some cases they said, "That creek belongs to Malee", and in others, "That was owned by Malee's house." In some cases a specific area was shared by all the chiefs of a house (or even of the phratry); in some cases the head chief assigned an area temporarily to another chief in his house (or even to his "children" in another phratry); in some cases two chiefs in the same house owned separate territories. Partly it depended upon the type of resource area concerned. A mountainside near the village where berries were picked was shared by the whole tribe. Another mountain where goats could be hunted was shared by all the Frogs. But streams with salmon weirs and traplines along the valleys were less frequently shared.

The Kitwancool consider that they own all of the territories shown within the boundaries on the map. The streams and lakes yielded their fish, the valleys and mountains were trapped and hunted for furs and food, and also yielded berries, shoots and roots.

### The Indian Map

Map 1 is an exact tracing of Fred Good's map of Kitwancool territories. This is a most interesting document, apparently drawn freehand without reference to an accurate base map.

As may be seen by comparing the tracing with Map 2, there are certain distortions in the scale and in directions, but it does represent an amazingly good conceptualization of the country. Every detail on the Indian map has been copied on the tracing, including the handwriting of the place names and the quality of the pencilled lines. The original is drawn in pencil on a sheet of heavy cardboard.

## Map 2

Map 2 represents an attempt to transfer the information shown on the Indian map to an accurate modern base map. As a base, the National Topographic Series (103P, 93M, and 104A) (4 miles/inch) were used. In the tracing the complex lake and stream systems were somewhat simplified in places.

The boundaries of Kitwancool territory were transferred as straight lines, to follow the Indian map and avoid the implication of a greater degree of precision than actually exists. Trails, shown by dotted lines, are those shown on the Indian map. In some cases these are also shown on the topographic series maps, in which case the tracing follows the latter exactly. In others, their locations are more approximate. Hunting cabins and smokehouses, shown on the Indian map as crossed circles, are copied as triangles. Their locations are transferred as exactly as possible. Place names written on the Indian map are shown by numbers on Map 2.

In its main features, Map 2 undoubtedly represents the Kitwancool view of their territories. In details, however, it cannot be claimed to be precise. The Indian map is a highly simplified representation of an area which has lake and stream systems as complex as can be found in any part of the province. In some cases a place name written on the map may refer to any one of a number of streams or lakes on the ground. Therefore in a few cases place names on Map 2 may apply to the wrong topographic feature.

In addition to the information on the Indian map, Map 2 shows further information as well. For one thing it covers a wider area, in order to place the Kitwancool village and its territories in geographical perspective. The other Gitksan winter villages have also been shown, to illustrate the way they were clustered for the social and ceremonial activities of the winter. The uppermost Niska village, Aiyansh (actually Gitlakdamix) is also shown, to illustrate its proximity to Kitwancool territory and its close relationship to the Kitwancool. Also, the territory has been divided up into the sections owned by each of the houses, according to the information given by the two main informants. Wolf and Frog territories are separated by a heavy broken line, and the former Tsetsaut territory in the north (now occupied by Kitwancool Wolves) is also shown by a heavy line. The territories of the different houses are separated by light broken lines.



### Named Places

The list below includes the places within the Kitwancool territories which are named on the Indian map, and also a number which were mentioned during the interview with Fred Good. The places are shown by numbers on Map 2.

Unfortunately it has not been possible in every case to place each named feature on the modern base map. The simplicity of the Indian map, set against the extreme complexity of lake and stream systems shown on a modern map, often results in doubt as to which of many streams, for example, is the one named. Uncertain cases are shown on the map with question marks.

1. Kitwancool (*gitwantgo'l* - "people of the little place").  
The permanent village. The present Indian Reserves of the band are shown on the map.

2. Ksanizaqu (*ksa'nizakw* "waters of the place of getting berries"). A small creek, nine miles above Kitwanga, which forms the southern boundary of Kitwancool territory.

3. Ksgungalaqu (*ksq'ungalakw* "not a proper stopping place" - when coming up from Kitwanga). A small creek at the present sawmill, as shown.

According to Walter Douse, the mountains directly east of the village were used jointly by all the houses in the village as berry grounds. Each house owned areas which were periodically burned to produce recurrent huckleberry crops.)

4. Ks-sa-ha-dak-out (*ksedaq'x'wt* "muddy waters")  
Moonlit Creek. Belongs to Gwaslam's house (W1). The mountain between this creek and lake was called We-lak-hab-basq.

5. Ks-Kin-diron (*ksigin day.n*) Kitwancool Creek.  
Belongs to Gwaslam's house (W1) but used by "their children in Guno's house (F3).

6. Ks-welunaqut (*ksiwilunε'iqut*). A large tributary of Kitwancool Creek, as shown.

The mountain west of Kitwancool Lake is owned by the Frog phratry. According to W. D. (Walter Douse), it was used by Gamlakyeltku as a place to hunt mountain goats.

7. Dharm-Kitwanlkul (*D'amgetwanlgo.l* - Lake Kitwancool). Beginning here, everything to the east is Wolf territory, everything to the west is Frog.

8. Ks-gwin-laq (*ksq<sup>w</sup>inla.x<sup>w</sup>* "trout creek") Supply Creek, emptying into the lake, shown on recent maps as Kitwanga River. Within Guno's territory (F3).

9. Ksanzasqu (*ks'anzi.k<sup>w</sup>* "disappearing creek or leaking creek"). The other small creek (intermittent?) which supplies the head of the lake.

10. Wilb-am-toats (*walB'amto.k* - "house built of charred wood"). The hunting house of Guno (F3).

11. Ksaanskayks (*ks'a<sup>a</sup>anske'x<sup>s</sup>* "waters of the place of wading"). The upper Cranberry. Within Guno's territory (F3).

12. Ks-gwen-ascut (*ksquna'x<sup>w</sup>t* "porcupine creek") A tributary of the Cranberry, as shown.

13. Ks-gwa-an-gamt (*ksq'wa'anga'mt* "waters of the place of flint"). A tributary of the Cranberry, as shown.

14. Kse-ya-ga-skid (*ksiyaga'ski'D* "river going down"). Cranberry River itself.

15. Kasginak (*ka'sgina'x* - refers to a type of roots).  
The long ridge west of the Cranberry. Still within Guno's  
territory (F3).
16. Ks-gwezelasqut (*ks'gwa'zə'las'wat* "little canyon  
creek"). The creek belongs to Gwaslam's house, and the cabin near  
its mouth belonged to Gwaslam's brother Andalaksamhloks  
(*'anda'la'ssanta'x* "bath in the sun").
17. Ks-gwinsbalda (*ks'gwin'se'lda*). A creek within Gwaslam's  
territory, identity uncertain.
18. Ks-dany-goat (*ks'danigo't* "hunger pains creek").  
According to W. D., this creek and the cabin near its mouth belong  
to Haizimsku (W3).
19. Gax-bak-skid (*gax'bak'ski'D* "going up from the foot  
of the hill"). Where the grease trail heads up the hills to the  
east toward Kispiox. According to W. D., within Gwaslam's  
territory (W1).
20. Damaklagilt (*D'amaxtagi'l't* "lake up on top").  
The lake near the summit on the Kispiox trail.
21. Gen-millet (*gen'mili'D* "place of steelhead")  
A small creek belonging to Gamlakyeltku (F1).
22. Gen-nu-smak (*gen'nu'smex*)

31. Gilhlalab(t (G'iltala'a'bit "looks down on big rocks" in a canyon). Ownership as 30.

32. Kitsitsotsku (Gitsup's'k's'w "people of bird creek"), on the west bank across from No. 31. These are the Kitwancool properties farthest down the Nass, and are about 14 miles above Grease Harbour.

33. Kinskuck (G'nsko'x' "receptacle to catch drips" also "crossing by canoe") Kinskuck River. This watershed belongs to the Frog phratry, but accounts of its exact ownership differ. W.D. said it belonged to Tseewa (F5), but F.G. said it belonged to Lohon (F2), having been given to him by Gamlakyeltku after Lohon "came downriver and joined them". The latter also said that Michael Bright of Aiyansh is really a Kitwancool man, and sends hunters up the Kinskuch.

34. Wens-gas-coal (w'ns'g'at'co' "little narrow canyon"). A house belonging to Gamlakyeltku (F1) where spring salmon were caught and smoked and where beaver and marten were trapped. W.D., perhaps being more precise, said that it belonged to Hlamee (F1, Gamlakyeltku's successor).

35. Ga-deedt (gadi'D) Kinskuch Mountain. According to W.D. it was where a mixed group living in the "fourth cabin" up the Nass hunted caribou and trapped groundhogs.

36. Kagenadapou (*koginad'apx<sup>w</sup>* "hammering creek").
37. Axnagalga (*aksnag'ε'lgə* "are you drinking that water, Galga?"). The creekwater here looks dirty, like tea, and the name derives from a comment made to a Niska Indian who was once seen drinking it.
38. Ks-gelah (*kskila<sup>w</sup>* "back of hand creek").
39. Kse-tk-hem-sem (*ksit'xε'məm* "river of the Nass people") Nass River.
40. Anksnamilknagits (*anxsnamibnagi'ε* "where wolverine was hunting beaver").
41. Ksebeans (*ksɔbi'nə* "beans creek"). This was formerly the boundary of Tsetsaut territory. The name is recent, and derives from an incident in which strange objects, later identified as white man's beans, were found in the creek.
42. Lapaytwet (*lɔpε'tx<sup>w</sup>ɔt* "all by itself"). A mountain which forms the eastern corner of Kitwancool territories.
43. Ks-we-den (*ksɔwɛdi'n* "fish weir creek"). Sweetin River, a tributary of the Kispiox River (*ksikispayaks*), belongs to Haizimsku (W3).
44. Ma-gan-geest (*magangi'st* "fish gaffing creek"). Nangeese River, another branch of the Kispiox, and belonging to Malee's house (W2).

45 45. Ks-we-loo-bet (*ksəwila'bat* "big stony creek").

Exact identity uncertain, perhaps East Kispiox. Belongs to Haizimsku (W3).

46. Lakdidak (*laxdɔd'áx*). A small lake northeast of Swan Lake, given to a Kispiox man in return for a favour.

47. Ma-ze-googat (*dam me zigo .gat* "big swan lake"). Swan Lake, belonging to Haizimsku (W3). The cabin was formerly at the outlet, but was moved across the lake.

48. An-lak-gam-stoax (*anlagamsta'aks* "outlet in the middle"). The large lake known as Brown Bear on recent maps. Malee's territory (W2).

49. Ned-dal-law-dit (*nedɔla'dit* "beavers meeting each other swimming back and forth"). Also in Malee's territory (W2).

50. Wasenskid (*wasɔnski'D* "long ridge"). A trapping area which was given to *yel* of Kispiox to use.

51. Gwen-na-geestqu (*gwanagi'stɔxw*). Uncertain whether this is Fred Wright Lake or Kwinageese Lake of modern maps. It is regarded as being within Malee's territory (W2), although Kispiox people use it also.

The large area north of the old Tsetsaut boundary was entered first by members of the houses of Wileetsku (W4) and Kawoku (W5) and these houses use the area. However it is regarded to be the common property of all of the Kitwancool.

52. Maziarden (*d'am m a z e ' d a n* - name is Tsetsaut, meaning not known). Meziaden Lake. Formerly used by the Tsetsaut for salmon, the lake and surrounding areas became Kitwancool territory following the war.

The present Wolf territories south of the lake may also have belonged to the Tsetsaut.

The northern boundary is not clearly defined. Fred Good said it did not include Bowser Lake or the Bell Irving River.